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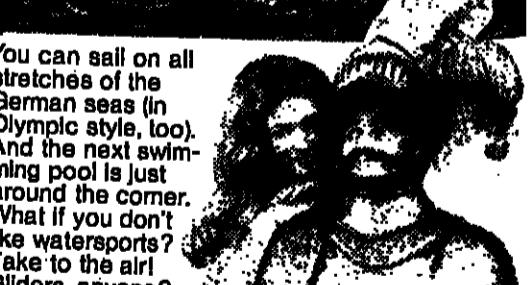
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# The German Tribune

Hamburg, 19 August 1971  
Tenth Year - No. 488 - By air

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### No one looks forward to crossing swords with Red China in the UN

President Nixon's new China policy and the consequences of the changes on the international political scene heralded three weeks ago will remain mainly the subject of speculation until announcements have given way to hard facts.

Not until Mr Nixon has returned from his visit to Peking will there be greater clarity about the improvement in relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

Detailed preparations for President Nixon's visit to Chairman Mao have yet to be made as to whether they might yet fall through or hard to place.

Difficulties that arise will, of course, be given the full treatment. Were the flight to China to be called off the resulting shock would be a good deal greater than the relief caused by the announcement that the visit had been arranged.

The undertaking made by President Nixon via his go-between Dr Kissinger in Peking must also first be put into practice. America will first have to vote in favour of Peking's admission to the United Nations.

Had this undertaking not been made the President would not have been invited to visit Peking in the first place.

There are tactical reasons why Washington's new approach was not made known at the same time as the announcement of the forthcoming visit.

A simultaneous announcement that the United States proposed to vote in favour

goodwill but it remains a secret known only by the United States and the Soviet Union whether Moscow knew or suspected in advance what was on the cards.

While Moscow and Peking were at daggers drawn the Soviet Union found it rather convenient that America was strictly opposed to mainland Chinese membership of the United Nations.

On the face of it the Communists were able to fulminate against American obduracy and superficially they all voted in Peking's favour but in reality they were only too happy not to have to cross swords with a Communist Chinese delegate in the UN.

They had had experience of Albania, China's diminutive ally in the United Nations, but this could hardly be said to represent full-scale confrontation.

Assuming that the People's Republic does gain admission to the UN (though the process is not as easy as it might appear to be) there will be no avoiding confrontation.

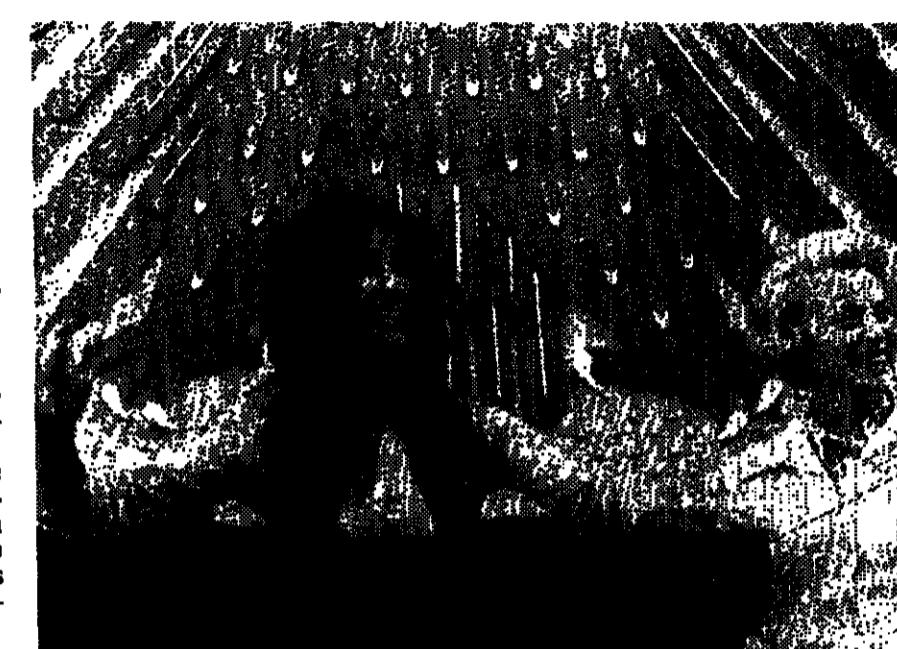
The major protagonists will then be

face to face in the UN: America and China, China and the Soviet Union and, of course, the Soviet Union and America as in the past.

A full-scale hue and cry need not arise at the onset of this new era. A great deal will be managed silently and behind the scenes.

A tense confrontation between Washington, Moscow and Peking will occur not only in the United Nations but also at all points of contact and there are more of these than is for the good of international peace and quiet.

There is Central Europe, Vietnam, the Middle East and all aspects of the Third World. Is fresh tension inevitable in the



### UN aid campaign

Dunja Rajter (left), the Yugoslav singer and filmstar visited the Bundestag accompanied by Annemarie Renger, chairman of the West German United Nations Association and SPD Bundestag member. Dunja Rajter is appearing in Germany in shows sponsored by the UN World Hunger Campaign. (Photo: AP)

process of detente between Washington and Peking?

In a rule of three governed by the three world powers' world affairs could be coordinated to a certain extent were the three sides fairly equally balanced, but this is just not the case.

Two of the three are, ideologically speaking, brothers up in arms against each other, and enemies of this kind are generally even more irreconcilable than diametrically opposed systems such as Capitalism and Communism.

Capitalists and Communists have a fair idea of what the other side is like and how it will react. Fraternal enmity, as religious warfare has repeatedly shown, does not admit of rational calculation.

What went on in the USSR, for instance? In view of the childish es-

capades involved it was hard to believe that great powers, indeed world powers, were in conflict.

The Russians and the Chinese do not, in any case, appear to be particularly good at understanding each other's point of view. It could well be that the Americans, who have just rediscovered their old love of China, at times assess Peking's policies better than the Russians do.

Conflicts between systems will, of course, continue. Peking will continue to condemn American imperialism hook, line and sinker. In ideological matters there is no such thing as coexistence and quarter is neither asked nor given.

By no means everything will be straightforward. Observers will note many a diversion in the emergence of a new relationship between the United States and China.

Moscow is warning America not to hobnob too closely with China and makes no bones about its mistrust. On the other hand America and Russia are cooperating on disarmament at Geneva and at the Salt talks in Helsinki.

Warnings are being sounded left, right and centre, both directly and indirectly. Mutual accusations continue to fly thick and fast.

Peking reckons that Moscow and Washington are aiming at world domination. Moscow replies that Sino-American hegemony appears to be on the cards. It is all half-baked and undigested but there is more to come.

Who is afraid of whom? A definite answer cannot be given because at present all three appear to feel that if any two come to terms it can only be at the other's expense.

In making great play with the Warsaw Pact Moscow bears witness to a certain degree of nervousness. Chinese policy is, and always has been, hard to fathom. Table-tennis is a touching strategem but China's motives are far from the purest of the pure.

Is America letting Japan down by hobnobbing with China? Not to mention

Continued on page 3

### India's good-neighbour policy with Peking spurs Gromyko to action

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's visit to India was well overdue. Since President Nixon's announcement of his intention to visit Peking next year the Asian political scene has lived up.

New Delhi is no exception. Foreign Minister Swaran Singh has expressly advocated a return to normal relations between his country and China – even though the frontier issue is unresolved and China might well make territorial demands to which India could not legally object at all easily.

Any such development would automatically lessen Soviet influence in India. New Delhi only having strengthened its ties with the Soviet Union since the onset of tension between Moscow and Peking.

Moscow was able to rely on a powerful neighbour at least being neutral and having no alternative but to seek Soviet backing in view of the ties between China and Pakistan.

The Soviet Union is now probably afraid that India will go its own way again somehow or other. This would have

repercussions on the Soviet diplomatic presence in Southern Asia.

Neither in Vietnam nor in other countries in this region is Moscow's influence so soundly anchored that the Kremlin can count on shiftings definite. Yet diplomats everywhere badly need something to go on in preparation for the post-Vietnam era.

Over the last decade Asian countries have had little leeway. There were still blocs centred on Washington and Moscow and no government could afford to be too closely linked to the United States as long as America was at war in Indo-China. And China was isolated, except for Pakistan, India's arch-enemy.

All of this no longer applies. Slow changes would have been sufficient to trigger off Soviet diplomatic activity. Mr Singh's announcement that India does not intend to leave the field to America and would also like to be good neighbour with China will have been the last straw that decided Mr Gromyko to set out on his travels.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 August 1971)

## ■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## Russia's affairs world-wide are in disarray

**Hannoversche Allgemeine**

The Soviet leadership creates the impression of being a somewhat uncertain crew. They have every reason. The news has been bad of late.

President Nixon is to visit Peking, the United States is to vote in favour of the admission of People's China to the United Nations, the Communist coup in Sudan came to grief in a bloodbath, the economic integration of the countries of East and South-East Europe under Soviet leadership has had to be postponed because of Rumania's attitude and last but not least the Soviet harvest promises to be mediocre at best.

Against this depressing background the Berlin settlement and allied treaties between the Federal Republic on the one hand and the Soviet Union and Poland on the other has paled into relative insignificance. Yet it is still on the agenda and remains a vital problem at least for Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin.

Over the past fortnight the Party leaders of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have, according to reports, by the Soviet news agency Tass conferred one after the other with Leonid Brezhnev in the Crimea on Berlin and American policy towards China.

In all probability the GDR Socialist Unity Party leader Erich Honecker has also paid his Soviet opposite number the odd visit since he is also on holiday in that part of the world.

Yet at the time of all these deliberations the situation in the Sudan was still

unclear and the Comecon conference of heads of government had yet to take place.

A further meeting was necessary to coordinate policy. On Monday the Party leaders reconvened in the Crimea, joined by General Secretary Yunzhang Tsendebal of Mongolia. Nicolae Ceausescu of Rumania did not put in an appearance, though it was not immediately clear whether or not he had been invited.

This suddenly convened conference following a spate of bilateral talks strengthens the impression of uncertainty in the Kremlin.

The topics discussed are only loosely linked even though Moscow's propagandists claim developments in the Sudan, Chinese policy on Africa and American policy towards China jointly as the activities of the imperialists and their aides.

Viewed in this light the Berlin problem, Rumania's obduracy, the wretched state of Chilean agriculture and the Apollo programme also fit into the picture. But the powers that be between East Berlin and Ulan Bator think nothing of their own propaganda. Their problem is how to respond to the situation in hand.

The Communists will have to come to terms with the defeat sustained in the Sudan. This would doubtless be possible were it not that they have heightened mistrust of their motives in the entire Arab world.

Only the military and economic dependence on the Soviet Union of, say Egypt has so far prevented the Soviet Union from losing a good deal of ground in Cairo as well as Khartoum. It very much looks as though Brezhnev's debacle on

the Nile may prove as far-reaching as John F. Kennedy's in Cuba's Bay of Pigs.

The Soviet Union is powerless in the face of developments in relations between the United States and People's China. Impotence at times leads to inconsiderately harsh reactions.

Moscow would not, however, be well-advised to show its annoyance — either in the Salt talks with the United States or in the Four-Power talks on Berlin settlement.

The arms race slow-down undertaken by the USSR and the USA would otherwise undoubtedly go by the board and pressing Soviet economic projects would again be in jeopardy.

Brezhnev's position is particularly complicated as regards his ambition to bring about genuine integration of the Comecon countries.

By means of his own speeches and with the aid of Moscow's propaganda the Soviet General Secretary has endeavoured to consign to oblivion his Foreign Minister's talk of limited sovereignty.

In its stead an attempt is being made to gain even greater political influence over the Soviet Union's allies by means of economic integration. In this way the sovereignty of other Comecon members will be further restricted.

Rumania is determined in its opposition to this ambition and has so far been successful. There are probably a number of people who rate this a personal setback for Brezhnev.

The sum total of foreign policy setbacks since the XXIV Party Congress this March and April has been greater than that of what for the Kremlin constitutes good news.

Now that the harvest, always a sore point in Soviet economic and domestic policies, is unlikely to be all that spectacular it is easy to appreciate the current uncertainty in Moscow.

Leonid Brezhnev will not have had a very pleasant holiday and can hardly be said to have enjoyed much of a rest.

Dietrich Möller  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 August 1971)

The attitude of Communist Parties in power towards the fate of their Sudanese comrades has become, like their reaction to the persecution of Indonesian Communists in 1965, a yardstick of what store the communist regimes still set by the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Ever since the Communist Manifesto this term has been used to denote the obligation on Communists everywhere to practise international solidarity and lend a common hand against the enemy.

With the passage of time, though, the principle has assumed the proportions of a fig leaf, covering each and every opportunist or, as in the case of Czechoslovakia in 1968, imperialist move.

This, too, is the case in respect of the gory persecution of Sudanese Communists. Were the Soviet leadership to attach any real significance to the maxim of proletarian internationalism they would have brought massive pressure to bear on the Numeiry regime and taken energetic action in Egypt and Libya too.

Communist tolerance towards non-Communist opponents is another matter altogether. One hardly dares think what fate would befall men who temporarily took over power in an Eastern Bloc country but were then unlucky enough to lose it again in the wake of counter-revolution.

In mid-April they courted Numeiry in Moscow and negotiated with him. At the XXIV Party Congress they kept quiet about a message from the Sudanese Communist Party complaining about the situation and requesting assistance.

The attitude of Communist Parties in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Arab world, have been in a position to launch a lightning campaign to aid its comrades in prison.

Instead lukewarm protests demonstrations were organised by trade union and factory groups at which neither Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CPSU, nor even a solitary member of the

## Moscow leaves Sudanese Communists badly in the lurch

politbureau put in an appearance. Power politics scored yet another victory over communist ideology.

The Soviet Union has thus made do with a kind of moral rearmament of its Party members and at the same time provided itself with a feeble alibi in the face of international Communism.

It is, for that matter, a moot question whether the Parties that have put paid to more of their own comrades than their enemies have in the course of the past half century have any moral right to behave differently.

Men such as Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Slansky and Nagy are but a few of thousands of nameless victims of Communist terror.

Mr Khrushchev's successors seem to be devoid of such emotions. In recent months, following the initial defeat of the Sudanese Communist Party, they seem to have decided that the chances of the Communists pulling it off are not worth backing.

In mid-April they courted Numeiry in Moscow and negotiated with him. At the XXIV Party Congress they kept quiet about a message from the Sudanese Communist Party complaining about the situation and requesting assistance.

Last but not least they backed the Arab federation hook, line and sinker and stated the Sudan's membership to be desirable and useful. In so doing Moscow committed itself in advance in a way that cannot now be ignored.

Israel even goes so far as to boast two Communist Parties and not a hair on the

Alexander Korab  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 August 1971)

head of supporters of the pro-Soviet party has so far been touched.

In the Arab countries that side with the Soviet Union, on the other hand, Communists have for decades been subject to persecution that has varied in extent and intensity only. The Soviet Union and its allies are either cynics or suffer from split personalities.

The Soviet leaders have opted nonetheless for cooperation with Arab nationalists and the fate of Arab Communists is thus sealed. Nikita Khrushchev was at least a little more consistent with the ideology he professed in occasionally deplored in public the persecution of Communists under President Nasser.

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## America prepares to grab the stinging nettle of two Chinas

### STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Three weeks after the announcement of President Nixon's visit to Peking Secretary of State William Rogers has announced how United States proposes to set about overcoming the most serious handicap in the way of establishing normal relations with the People's Republic of China.

The issue of Chinese representation in the United Nations, a topic of considerable importance not only in view of the claim by both Peking and Taipei to represent the entire Chinese people also because of the parallels to divided countries, is to be clarified in a pragmatic fashion in that the United States is to avoid committing itself making a statement of principle.

America, Mr Rogers has announced, will vote in favour of admitting China to the United Nations at the General Assembly this autumn but at the same time oppose all attempts to expel Taiwan from the world body.

This dual representation establishes dangerous precedent for the negotiations on Germany should a vote be taken to a settlement of the Berlin question.

On a number of occasions the West Germans declared its willingness to allow the German states to join the United Nations but not before all aspects of the Berlin question have been solved satisfactorily.

The United States will probably resort to a procedural stratagem to resolve the dilemma of having taken one stand for China and taking another on Germany.

The Americans are more German than the Germans in the eyes of certain CDU/CSU politicians who should know better.

The fact that the Allies were at first loath to accede to the setting up of a Soviet consulate-general in West Berlin is understandable from the psychological point of view.

They will declare the expulsion of Nationalist China to be an important issue requiring a two-thirds majority whereas admission of Peking calls for a straightforward numerical majority. The game could be repeated from year to year without a formal decision being reached on Chinese sovereignty.

This is a neat solution but one cannot help wondering whether the United States has not underestimated the old side. So far neither Peking nor Taipei has stated whether it would be prepared to play ball. What is more, this way there can be no clarification of the issue of who is to be granted the Chinese seat on the Security Council so far occupied by Taipei.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 August 1971)

This would, after all, be granting a right to the Soviet Union for which a reciprocal concession would not be possible. If the West had in turn pleaded for a consulate-general in East Berlin Abramsky would have politely given them the addresses of high-ups in the German Democratic Republic.

There was no question of give-and-take coming into it on this occasion.

In addition there is the general apprehension of the West towards Soviet missions in the free world, which are all too often deemed into something more sinister.

The suggestion was that the Soviet

consulate in West Berlin should have a staff of thirty people. This figure corresponds roughly to the number of applications made each day by West Berliners to travel to the Soviet Union.

It is no wonder that the United States intelligence service refused to remain silent when it heard of Soviet intentions.

Thus when it comes to the theme of the West Berlin consulate-general it is mainly allied interests and not typical West Berlin interests that are being discussed.

For this reason Egon Bahr was justified in weighing Western apprehension against it for us the decisive factor, whether compliance with the wishes of the Soviet Union to set up a consulate-general in West Berlin will endanger the legal position of the free half of the divided city.

It would not be the case if the consulate in question were accredited by the Allies and not by the Senate.

Meanwhile Egon Bahr has stated that Peking may enter the United Nations as a model of propriety if it elects to stand by its present foreign policy guidelines. It could, on the other hand, want to revolutionise the UN as demanded in the past.

Much can be achieved and even more prevented if you have the right of veto to which to resort. Communist China would

present circumstances there is no question of this happening.

Although the twenty-fifth session of the four ambassadors to discuss the Berlin Question has still not provided a final decision it seems that the various viewpoints have come closer together and on a number of questions ideas seem to be converging:

\* Freight transport to have unhindered access between the Federal Republic and Berlin without official controls.

\* Only spot checks on passenger vehicles.

\* A lump sum to cover the fees for using access roads.

Difficulties arise over the much-discussed presence of Federal Republic offices in West Berlin. The main concern is what form the ties between the Federal Republic and West Berlin must take in future in all circumstances.

Any concessions that were made in this direction would of necessity be to the disadvantage of West Berlin.

The question of who else could be expected to give ground for the sake of concessions has no logical answer. There is no one else!

If we Germans alone were responsible for finding an answer to the Berlin problem there would be far greater room for manoeuvre towards a mutual give-and-take situation.

The allies cannot bring up for discussion any subject that is not directly pertinent to the Berlin Question and a satisfactory solution to the Berlin problem.

On this occasion, the right-wing claims, it was State Secretary Egon Bahr who pressured the Western powers, or more specifically the Americans to accede to the Soviet ambassador Piotr Abramov's request, rather than backing up Washington in its dissent.

On the other hand if Bonn were responsible for these negotiations it would easily be in a position to come to some arrangement with the GDR relating to inter-German trade.

Another example was clearly seen at the Kassel talks between Willy Brandt and his GDR discussion partner Willi Stoph about the possibility of taking steps towards both countries being accepted as full members of the United Nations.

They will declare the expulsion of Nationalist China to be an important issue requiring a two-thirds majority whereas admission of Peking calls for a straightforward numerical majority. At that time the idea in mind was an intra-German treaty.

In practice, however, all that remained of this hope was a struggle over a proposed Berlin treaty.

For even this to come to fruition if negotiations between West and East State Secretaries Bahr and Kohl follow the ambassadorial route — at the moment Bahr and Kohl are only holding talks, not negotiations — will depend to a certain extent on the East Berlin government, whose ambition it is to steer the United Nations.

Andrei Gromyko's latest move with US

Thant hints that this may come about in the autumn — if the talks on Berlin are handed over to the two Germanies. Thus it is quite possible that both themes will be interlinked.

Ludwig Eberlein  
(Deutsche Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, 1 August 1971)

## Red China in the UN

Continued from page 1

Formosa, whose expulsion from the United Nations would hardly be a feather in anyone's cap. America would not, in any case, agree to expulsion.

It remains to be seen what rumpus will be caused by the admission of Peking to the United Nations. The consternation caused by Washington and Peking's decision to come to terms is a mere foretaste of things to come.

Both countries (and the Soviet Union) must take care that the upsurge does not assume alarming dimensions. Paradoxically (or not) healthy egoism on the part of all concerned ought to ensure that no one dabbles in adventurous politics.

Maxim Fechner

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 August 1971)

## Possible recognition of the GDR again comes in for discussion

Three events have turned the public's attention once again to the question of recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law.

Firstly a statement made by the former Social Democratic premier of Denmark Viggo Kampmann, at a conference of northern European parliamentarians during the GDR Baltic week at Warnemünde.

Secondly a speech by Dr Nello Celio, the Swiss Finance Minister and acting Foreign Minister, and thirdly the assumption of diplomatic relationships between the Central African Republic of Chad and the GDR. *Neues Deutschland* pointed out that this was the thirtieth recognition of the GDR.

The campaign for international recognition is not only costing the GDR thousands of millions of Marks — Egypt alone is said to have received a thousand million Marks in credit since it opened relations with the GDR — but it is also bringing money in.

France granted East Berlin a loan over eight years instead of the usual five. And export authorities in Britain offered the GDR credit on more favourable terms than they have been accustomed to granting to Socialist countries in the past.

These are the facts. It is obvious that the GDR press has gone to town on them. But the sacrifices that the East Germans have had to make in the fight for recognition there has been no talk. Likewise the GDR press has pushed up statements by the governments in Sweden, India, France, Great Britain, Switzerland and many African and Latin American States expressing the opinions of individuals or groups in those countries that efforts to achieve normalisation in relations between the two Germanies should not be complicated by demonstrative steps of a one-sided nature.

The Indian government has so far refused to recognise East Berlin for the same reasons. Swaran Singh, the Indian Foreign Minister recognised at the parliamentary meeting of 12 July "the power of the argument" that "both Germans"

## ■ LEGAL AFFAIRS

## Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn's abortion law comes under a crossfire of criticism

**Süddeutsche Zeitung**

Gerhard Jahn, Minister of Justice, will not be allowed to forget his problems during his summer. His reformist policies will dog him. Whatever he proposes there will be people who think he is going too far and others who will claim that he is not going far enough.

Moves to reform laws governing divorce and sexual crimes have already shown that subjects like these rouse emotions, making the reformer the target of people representing all shades of ideological opinion.

A reformer can no longer afford attack — he can only choose the spot on the political spectrum from which the most violent reaction is expected.

When Gerhard Jahn presents his abortion law reform bill early this autumn it is a fair bet he will have made an exact calculation of potential opposition this time.

So far Jahn has maintained strict silence during debates on Paragraph 218 of the penal code, the paragraph concerning illegal abortions. He has only given the general indication that there will be neither full retention nor complete abolition of the law.

But others wanting abortion law reform have already reached an agreement that pregnancies may only be terminated during the first three months after conception.

A three-months limitation takes both the woman's and the child's interests into account. This solution is sensible and guarantees uniform administration of justice. It has not failed to attract supporters in both the Cabinet and the Ministry of Justice.

But unless appearances are deceptive Jahn's Bill will not mention the three-month limitation but will draw up a list of situations justifying abortion.

There are medical grounds for abortion (childbirth would endanger the health of the pregnant mother), criminological grounds (the child conceived as a result of rape), eugenic grounds (the child would be born handicapped) as well as social-medical grounds where the mother would be overburdened if the child were born.

This ruling would not punish users of the morning-after pill nor would a woman be subjected to the embarrassment of supplying details of her case to a tribunal that would decide on the necessity of an operation. As in Switzerland, a second doctor would be consulted concerning the grounds for an abortion.

A solution of this type — despite the evident advantages of a three-month limit — is remarkable in so far as it takes into account the mother's personal and social strains as well as purely medical factors.

It will scarcely be possible to judge which of the two alternatives goes the farthest. The essential difference is that the probable terms of the Bill, unlike the three-month limitation, make the final decision dependent on a particular conflict situation. Those people who value the law's educative function will consider this to be of decisive advantage.

But the final political decision will be taken bearing in mind that the three-month limitation would not achieve a majority of the Bundestag and would also be rigorously opposed by the Church whose political importance is no longer underestimated by anyone in Bonn.

The Catholic Church opposes any grounds for abortion apart from the medical. But the Evangelical memorandum on sexual ethics has called for consideration of the expectant mother's overall position and only opposes abortions conducted on purely social grounds.

Abortion on purely social grounds would also be a poor advertisement for a welfare state. Jahn can therefore count on the Protestants' toleration of his proposals.

Accompanying measures are also planned.

Under other circumstances proposals that the State should back contraception (particularly by means of the pill) with information and free supply would almost certainly be opposed.

But it now seems possible to push through contraception as a way to reduce the number of abortions. People will find it difficult to reject both State-backed contraception and abortion law reform at one and the same time.

All arguments against the three-months limitation now being collected in the Ministry of Justice will have, apart from their own value as arguments, the function of making the political decision appear as the decision of specialists in this field.

Opposing the three-month limitation, the Ministry of Justice will object that for logical reasons there can be no time limit taken for the absolute protection of life.

### Obscure legal logic

But legal logic is sometimes obscure. It was Jahn himself who stated that it was not a question of conducting exercises in juristic logic when answering attacks that his divorce law reform was inconsistent. A law, he said, must be understood and accepted.

Time will tell whether his list of grounds will be understood and accepted. He will not at any rate be able to depend on the support of those who would like to lump him together with those 374 women who admitted to having an abortion in an illustrated weekly.

He will also attract criticism in his own party and in the FDP. But it is this opposition that will enable him to depict himself to opponents of any reform whatsoever as the man who is preventing anything more far-reaching. In this way he may be able to get his Bill on to the statute books.

Robert Leicht  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 July 1971)

Accompanying measures are also planned.

Nobody disputes the fact that the abortion law needs reforming. The application of Paragraph 218 of the penal code cannot be defined accurately enough today.

The law also punishes cases that, bearing in mind the contemporary views on the purpose of punishment, should not be subjected to the clauses of the penal code but should be seen instead in their ethical and religious aspects.

Paragraph 218 makes it illegal to procure an abortion, thus killing the embryo. Controversy surrounds the question of at what stage an embryo comes under the protection of this law.

The legislature made no plain ruling on this basic question as not even the medical profession knew the details of early human development when the abortion law was drawn up last century. Impregnation was therefore the only act that could be considered.

For a long time the abortion question was insignificant as a termination of pregnancy in the first fourteen days after conception never entered the courts.

But it is relevant today. More is known about what happens after conception and about midwives in particular. Also, intrauterine pessaries and the morning-after pill are now available to prevent the further development of life between impregnation and midwives.

The question is whether Paragraph 218 refers to the embryo as a fertilised ovum,

## Abortion law reform fraught with problems and difficulties

in which case its destruction with the aid of the means mentioned is illegal abortion, or whether it means a fertilised ovum in which case the use of such methods would go unpunished.

Today a court would rarely judge that a pregnancy had been terminated by the use of such methods. But as even the attempt to procure an abortion is a punishable offence this question is relevant.

There has never been a court ruling on this problem. The majority of doctors and lawyers agree that the abortion law should only apply from the point of midwives. The reasons they put forward are convincing.

The law must now be changed to show that legal protection of the life of unborn children does not begin until after midwives. The Speyer lawyer Professor Herzog has shown that Basic Law allows this.

On this basis two solutions are under discussion.

The alternative draft of the professors of law propose that termination of pregnancy within the first four weeks of three months should be allowed if the operation is carried out by a qualified

doctor with the full permission of the pregnant mother.

There must still be discussion on whether this solution still takes adequate account of the law's duty to protect the embryo. There are important arguments in support.

The second solution would only permit abortion on certain grounds. These would include medical grounds where there was serious danger for the life and health of the pregnant mother, eugenic grounds where there was a high degree of probability that the child would be born physically or mentally handicapped, ethical or criminal grounds where the pregnancy had been caused by a penal act, including the sexual abuse of children below the age of fourteen, and social-medical grounds which would apply when the health of the mother would be seriously threatened because of social factors or when there was justified concern that the health of the mother could deteriorate after the birth because of social factors.

Adolf Müller-Emmert, chairman of the Bundestag special committee for penal reform

(Handelsblatt, 27 July 1971)

and confirmed that women found it comparatively difficult to win a seat. But once elected, they are normally re-elected more often than men and remain longer in the Bundestag.

Women had it easier when the Bundestag was first assembled and everybody new.

Liselotte Funcke states, because

of women's lot in life they were also more committed than in the last ten affluent years.

During this period of calm women had

tended to bring up their children instead

### Majority supports legal abortions

A surprisingly high number of voters of all three Bundestag parties would welcome a more liberal abortion law and a clause allowing pregnancy to be terminated within a three-month limit.

A survey conducted by the Mikrotest Institute shows that 58 per cent support the three-month limit while 31 per cent would oppose it.

Observers in Bonn do not rule out the possibility that the results of this question, especially as the case of the CDU/CSU legal affairs committee, recently spoke of the possibility of making the political decision appear as the decision of specialists in this field.

The reform bill drafted by the Minister of Justice proposes that social factors should be considered along with medical and mental when permitting abortion.

The FDP and women in the Bundestag demand that abortions should be legal during the first three months of pregnancy. The poll shows that they are supported by 68 per cent of SPD, 71 per cent of EDP voters and 47 per cent of CDU/CSU voters.

Forty per cent of CDU/CSU voters reject this three month solution. But a majority of Catholics support it, 44 per cent recommending its adoption and 36 per cent opposing it.

Eighty per cent of the CDU voters, 79 per cent of SPD voters and 89 per cent of EDP voters would support an abortion in eugenic grounds where the embryo is physically and mentally damaged.

Support is even greater for legal abortion on medical grounds under which pregnancy would be terminated when another's life was endangered.

This is the only solution accepted by the Catholic Church, was supported by 80 per cent of SPD voters, 90 per cent of EDP voters and 83 per cent of CDU/CSU voters.

The social grounds contained in the Justice Ministry's four point programme are supported by 74 per cent of the public and rejected by 15 per cent.

The clearest support was given by Free Democratic voters with 88 per cent and 83 per cent of Social Democrat voters would accept them.

A large majority of Catholics would accept this ruling, seventy per cent support and twenty per cent against. Protestants were in favour by 78 per cent, though ten per cent in opposition.

Even the basic question of whether a woman should have the right to decide on whether she should have an abortion was not answered in the affirmative by most of the respondents. Of the CDU/CSU voters (45 per cent) a majority (44 per cent) and a majority of Catholics (51 to 39 per cent).

At present for instance they are discussing divorce law reform, pornography and the pros and cons of Paragraph 218 of the Penal Code, the abortion law.

The situation in the SPD is only fractional.

Only four per cent of those

viewed were against any form of abortion.

More importance will be attached to the results in Bonn as the parties have not yet decided on their attitude to abortion law reform.

At the present stage of discussions a coalition on the abortion issue is possible in the Bundestag especially as the proposals of the CDU working group on the subject tend to accept a reform recognising grounds for a legal abortion in eugenic or medical-social grounds however supported.

She holds firm views on the subject. She confirmed that women found it comparatively difficult to win a seat. But once elected, they are normally re-elected more often than men and remain longer in the Bundestag.

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### BUNDESTAG AFFAIRS

## Women Bundestag members statistically surveyed

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Industriekurier

of making their contribution to political life. And they can only go to Bonn when their children are old enough with the result that there has not been a continuous inflow of qualified women into the Bundestag.

The last Bundestag election shows this quite clearly, Liselotte Funcke claims. Of the ten new women entering the Bundestag all were over 43 years old.

She believes that there will be a decisive change in the composition of future parliaments. The young and restless generation have developed a different attitude to politics.

Women have tended to come to more meetings and become more politically interested as they found at home that they were no longer satisfied with housework and bringing up children.

Women also seem to be an increasing sense of partnership among the younger generation which allows women more and more latitude for neglecting their household chores and devoting their time to other activities.

Liselotte Funcke also pointed out the gradual change of public opinion towards politically committed women. There have been examples of this recently in all three parties.

The statistics show that with most women political involvement still depends on a degree of professional independence. Of the 34 female 'politicians' in the Bundestag, excluding Berlin members, twelve describe themselves as housewives, six as teachers, four as executive staff, three as senior civil servants, three as welfare officials and two as editors. There have been few female lawyers in the Bundestag in recent years.

There have been few changes in the composition by sexes of Bundestag committees. There are still women's spheres. Though there are few women in the Bundestag in the current legislative period, six of them are on the committee dealing with questions concerning the family and the young, four on the Petitions Committee and four on the Special Penal Reform Committee dealing with extremely topical subjects that are not necessarily exclusive to women.

Women still have far greater trouble in being adopted candidates than men do. At the Bundestag elections in 1969 women politicians of all three parties were given a total of six constituencies.

Although the Christian Democrats and Free Democrats have women to thank for most of their election successes, neither of the parties bear this in mind when drawing up the list of candidates — women usually come into the Bundestag via the state lists. The situation in the SPD is only fractional.

Women ministers are the exception rather than the rule throughout the world. There were none in pre-1933 Germany and only three in Bonn since 1949. Britain, the home of the suffragette movement, leads with seven women ministers, one of them of Cabinet rank.

Katharina Oberitz  
(Handelsblatt, 30 July 1971)



Bundestag Vice-president Liselotte Funcke  
(Photos: Marianne von der Lancken)

### The men who guard the Bundestag

#### DAS PARLIAMENT

People who have never been to the Bundestag in Bonn will at least have seen on television the conspicuous band of the inconspicuous, the parliamentary stewards who hurry busily from deputy to deputy during debates.

These men in a uniform of white tie and tails really are very busy as a result of the number of debates held by the Bundestag.

Their work begins at six o'clock in the morning on days when sessions are to take place. Printed matter, the agenda and other important documents must be laid on the members desks.

During debates they maintain contact between members and the outside world as they, apart from ministers and deputies, are the only ones allowed to cross the demarcation line formed by the doors to the main assembly hall.

It is only via them that a petition can be taken to a minister, only they can accept the whispered request to make an urgent telephone call and it is they who fetch documents or briefcases forgotten by members.

They also conduct the groups of adults or schoolchildren to the visitors gallery and fetch them from there when their hour or so is up.

Most of the visitors to the Bundestag look upon the 36 stewards as the institution's forces of law and order because of their calm but deliberate appearance.

Few visitors realise that the stewards — recruited because of their good memory for names and faces — take off their tails during the weeks when no debates are held and, together with ninety colleagues, take up the more anonymous duties of a messenger.

Katharina Oberitz at the Ministry of Health is the only female minister. Liselotte Funcke was appointed one of the three Bundestag Vice-Presidents, a post filled by women twice before.

Dr Hildegard Hamm-Bräuer is a State Secretary at the Ministry of Science. Two women are Parliamentary State Secretaries, Dr Katherine Focke in the Chancellor's Office and Brigitte Frey in the Ministry of Economic Cooperation. Anneliese Renger is the SPD's business manager in the Bundestag.

Women ministers are the exception rather than the rule throughout the world. There were none in pre-1933 Germany and only three in Bonn since 1949. Britain, the home of the suffragette movement, leads with seven women ministers, one of them of Cabinet rank.

At present for instance they are discussing divorce law reform, pornography and the pros and cons of Paragraph 218 of the Penal Code, the abortion law.

The 120 men belonging to the three groups making up the House Inspectorate (security, patrol and guard services) keep an eye on what is going on in the parliamentary building. The patrol also carries out its duties at night as it quietly circles the Bundeshaus a few times.

The Bundeshaus Police Station is responsible for the actual outdoor duties. Uniformed officials of this specially installed police station control traffic, protect the Bundeshaus and the skyscraper housing members from outside attack, prevent unauthorised people from entering either of these buildings and keep demonstrators away.

Security precautions are modest

## THEATRE WORLD

## Drama institutes hope to encourage individuality

Would-be actors desiring as good a drama education as possible usually turn to the State-run drama schools. If they want to qualify for the free education normal at universities they have the choice of seven drama institutes scattered throughout the Federal Republic.

These State-run institutes have places for about seventy applicants a year. There are entry restrictions on the number of students at nearly all of the institutes but it is only in Essen that they are rigidly applied.

But the strictest selection process occurs in Frankfurt where there are no restrictions on entry. Some terms all applicants are rejected.

There are no more than a dozen drama students in the Frankfurt institute. The usual number at other institutes is thirty, spread over six semesters or three years. Their education in Hamburg for instance costs 20,500 Marks each.

Selection criteria and the selection process in the individual institutes are as varied as the syllabus and methods. So far no adequate method has been found of measuring an applicant's suitability to join the acting fraternity.

The number of applicants ranges from about 25 in Frankfurt and Stuttgart to eighty in Berlin and Essen. Applicants must be over sixteen and younger than 24. Previous education and qualifications are unimportant.

Entrance examinations usually take place once a year. Sometimes applicants need only read aloud dramatic texts. Other institutes require candidates to improvise scenes.

### Young actors face gruelling tests

Twenty-five would-be actors turned up for the entrance examinations recently organised by the acting department of the State Music and Drama Academy in Hanover.

Three hard days of tests awaited them even though they had already gained some idea of what should be studied after a discussion with lecturers a year ago.

Jörg Holl, the head of the acting department since last April, took charge of the examinations for the first time. The test programme he had devised was intentionally difficult and demanding.

Group work was planned for the first day to minimise any examination fears and create a pleasant atmosphere. Four groups were formed to come up with ideas for a play. Scenes were improvised and during the evening performed off the cuff. The second day began with the acting of prepared scenes. Jörg Holl circulated among the groups gathering impressions. The first conference lasted until midnight and the first decisions were taken. Some of the applicants were rejected immediately and were advised not to embark on an acting career.

The remaining actors on the third day had to pass a number of well thought out tests. Among qualities tested were their linguistic and physical imagination and their ability to impersonate a role.

They then had to write short essays on various subjects. A twelve-man jury consisting of eight lecturers and four students then announced the results. Thirteen had passed, six girls and seven men. Young blood has now climbed on to the first rung of the acting ladder and every one of them has a chance to reach the top.

*Claude Flor*

(Kleiner Nachrichten, 24 July 1971)

Drama students rehearsing a play in Hanover

(Photo: np)



### Youth drama centre in Tübingen

and the spontaneous acting-out of situations. Holl also demands from first-year students reflection and the reconstruction of ad-hoc improvisations which will now be done regularly.

This shift of emphasis in drama education is due in equal proportions to new findings and the straits the subject finds itself in.

The general aim of releasing the future actor's personality to self-creative activity can be limited at an early stage by too much concentration on literary texts. The pupil is on prepared ground when confronted by a role.

The shift of emphasis away from individual role tuition has reached such a peak at the Stuttgart institute that lecturers do no more than draw up a list of parts that the pupil must have learned.

Group work which is not dependent on previously determined texts benefits the development of an emancipated and talented actor, the aim of all institutes.

Rolf Nagel, Holl's Hamburg colleague, has noted that the group work leads to increased solidarity among the people involved, helping them to overcome any egocentric ambitions concerning their future career.

Those applicants accepted are given basic training in their first year. There is little mention of art. Instead they are equipped with the tools of the trade.

They are taught to speak and breathe properly. They are told how they should deport themselves on stage. They do physical training, learn to fence and a number of other things.

In Berlin and Hanover the students also have a say about their examinations. In Hamburg they even have a right of veto if the lecturers want to fail a student.

If the students are not convinced by the arguments put forward, they can press through their desires provided they are ready to take over responsibility for the further development of the student affected. This aids the solidarity of their interest for his problems and weaknesses.

Surprisingly, she also believes that it is possible and desirable to show the social relevance of this technical training.

Jürg Holl, head of the drama department in Hanover, wants no more than a direct pragmatic revision of methods previously used in these technical subjects.

It is surprising how few plays are put on by these institutes, with the exception of Essen, although nobody denies their importance in dramatic training.

But it is impossible to engage producers who put their own splendid stamp on a production. Money for educational trips is also in short supply.

Those shortcomings could be overcome by engaging good producers as lecturers for short periods. Education must not limit itself to what exists at present or to experience that often dates from far back in the past.

Holl opposes the routine voice and language assumed by an actor as he feels that personal idiom is displaced by a stage language he describes as dead because of its lack of individuality.

But nearly all graduates of these institutes find acting jobs. Now, however, many of them are not willing to work at just any old theatre.

*Werner Schulze-Reitpell*

(Die Welt, 28 July 1971)

### FILM WORLD Aided cinema gives film world a boost

DIE WELT

The Tübingen Landestheater has staged five premieres in one year under the title "Youth Theatre", result of a competition organised by theatre in and around the Black Forest and Lake Constance.

Young people up to the age of 21, to write short plays lasting a maximum of thirty minutes. Subject matter was taken from their own environment as possible. Eighteen plays were completed by December.

Entries were distributed to 15 young playwrights for grading. Five were selected when the theatre invited them to Tübingen.

The theatre staff advised them in choice but the final decision was left to the young people's and theirs alone, no clashes were reported. This was understandable after seeing the plays.

Rehearsals were conducted by a mixture of amateur constant discussion. The producers, those young playwrights in time and inclination and actors technicians from the Landestheater, all involved.

The last three thousand of a one-time total of seven thousand cinemas in this country face imminent death and almost every day another cinema closes its doors for good.

According to the film industry only seventeen per cent of potential filmmakers actually go to the cinema regularly. The other 83 per cent have eyes to see the films, ears to hear the soundtrack and a sound pair of legs to take them to the cinema. But the legs never do.

There were, as has been said, five plays. The auditorium was bursting at the seams. Adults were few and far between.

The two female and three male playwrights dealt mainly with their own environment.

Sometimes they dealt with the mechanism society employs to integrate people into it, a particular target of the young.

Sometimes they spoke of the possibility or impossibility of political work, sometimes they spoke of the position of the worker or life in the armed forces.

Love played an astonishingly mixed part in their works. There was a little love but it was very hazy. On the whole the young playwrights - all from middle-class homes - dealt with society.

Those shortcomings could be overcome by engaging good producers as lecturers for short periods. Education must not limit itself to what exists at present or to experience that often dates from far back in the past.

Holl believes that the students of these institutes find acting jobs. Now, however, many of them are not willing to work at just any old theatre.

*Rolf Vollmann*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 July 1971)

In Hamburg Werner Grassmann, former business manager of the film co-op opened the Abaton and in Cologne the critic Kolf Weis started "X-Screen" which drew attention to itself with some spectacular presentations on the Cologne art market.

Nuremberg now has a cinebar "Meisengeige", and film enthusiasts in Bremen formed a limited company, turned beggars into cash and reopened a tumble-down suburban cinema as "Cinema Osterter" with a programme of underground films.

In Munich, where Thomas Kuchenreuther is running three "engagiert" cinemas, Edgar Reitz and Uta Stöckl have opened a film "restaurant" in the Rialtotheater, where audience members can look at a list of film delicacies and order the one they want.

These are all experiments and each one is different from the other. They all have to attempt to live off their own account and cover their own overheads.

One centre of interest and hope is at the moment the idea of Frankfurt's cultural adviser Hilmar Hoffmann for an "audio-visual communication centre" an ambitious, far-reaching project including workshops, a museum, bookshops and a communal cinema.

Communal cinema sets out to offer programmes rather than just films, of a specific genre, cycles of films as well as a certain director, portraits of various actors, the "other cinema", masterpieces from the history book of films as well as programmes of films from other countries, about which we know very little except our own prejudices, for instance the USSR, Israel, Red China and South American countries. But simply showing the films is not the end of the story. Written accounts show how the film fits into the aesthetic structure and the meaning required to make this part come alive was all there.

No other actor could match him in this role. Also unforgettable is his portrayal of Professor Unrat in the famous film *The Blue Angel*.

With his death more than twenty years ago came the end of a great chapter of film history. He was the first German-speaking star to win international acclaim and popularity all over the world. Without doubt he was responsible for helping to make the German cinema known throughout the world and he helped to decide what course it would take.

Emil Jannings and the German film - the two are inseparable, and each thanks the other for fame and greatness.

The older generation will still remember Jannings, this unique actor, particularly for his brilliant portrayal of Dorfrichter (village judge) Adam in Kleist's *Der zerbrochene Krug*. The cunning required to make this part come alive was all there.

At the age of 17 he was a member of a touring company roving all Germany for just three Marks per week pay. Then he was offered a part at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin. Berlin was then the centre of cultural life and offered the young actor a great chance to climb the ladder.

He played Classical roles which gave him every opportunity to show off and develop his abilities. He was noticed. The much maligned German cinema made a bid for his services.

In the meantime Jannings had revised his ideas about the silver screen and pitched in. Films such as *Madame Dubarry*, *The Brothers Karamazov*, *Anne Boleyn*, *Quo Vadis*, *Othello*, *Peter the Great* and *The Last Man* helped make him into a star.

No wonder the Hollywood dream factory decided to lure Jannings across the Atlantic. Between 1925 and 1929 Jannings was making films in America. His weekly salary was 42,000 Reichsmark, making him the highest paid German actor.

The advent of the talkies marked the end of many a promising acting career. Faced with a microphone many an actor and actress with impressive facial expression and movements proved to have a voice that was anything but impressive.

Not so Emil Jannings. Nature had provided him with a powerful, deep bass voice and with the coming of soundtracks a new door opened for him.

When Jannings returned to the German-speaking world where he could do the greatest justice to speaking roles it was with an "Oscar", the most coveted Hollywood prize.

He took part in a series of German films which were great successes such as *Liebling der Götter*, *Der alte und der neue König*, *Traumulus*, *Robert Koch* and others.

Jannings loved the publicity he received and the fame that came to him. The greatest misfortune of his life was that he allowed himself to be caught up in the National Socialist web and was roped in for agitation films such as *Ohm Krüger*.

At the end of the War these activities were written up as a black mark against him.

Although he had never been a member of the NSDAP and it was not necessary to de-Nazify him after the War he slipped into the shadows and was never in the public eye again.

His fall from grace was steep. He was exiled to his country seat in Austria and was still clinging to the hope that one day he could make a comeback, when he died at the age of 64. *Eleonore Grenefeld*

(Kleiner Nachrichten, 24 July 1971)

### Emil Jannings - in memoriam



Emil Jannings as Professor Unrat in the famous film *The Blue Angel* (Photos: dpa)



Emil Jannings in his first film *Fromont Jr.* (Ritter sr.)

### USSR and FRG want film linkup

There is keen interest both in the Federal Republic and in the Soviet Union about the idea of signing a film agreement, according to Jörg Bieberstein, the head of the mass media committee at the Economic Affairs Ministry in Bonn.

One remarkable point arising from the discussion was the fact that a lot of the young people there would calmly and hesitatingly and without regret accept any drama that did not seem to be of benefit to the class struggle. Art is only means to them. When it is not a means, it no longer has any purpose.

The audience seemed to agree with Jörg Bieberstein's views. The little discussion there concentrated practically on the political message and the political use of the film.

Herr Bieberstein has just completed talks with the acting chairman of the Soviet State committee for cinematic affairs Vladimir Baskakov, in Moscow.

Bieberstein is the head of the Federal Republic delegation at the Moscow Film Festivals.

He stressed that an agreement between

the West German and Russian film industries could only come to fruition after the signing of a general trade agreement between the two countries.

A film agreement of this kind, aiming at co-production and the exchange of films, already exists between the Federal Republic and Yugoslavia.

Efforts to complete a similar agreement with Rumania have so far broken down it was announced, because of disagreements about whether West Berlin should be included within the scope of the deal.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 July 1971)

## EDUCATION

## Teacher-pupil classroom gap continues to widen

Eager young teachers may not be deterred at the thought of controlling large classes but the question of discipline was just too much for the forty-year-old school master who inserted an advertisement in the Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit* begging for a job outside education.

Even before the weary forty-year-old issued this cry of desperation one of his colleagues in Stuttgart had had to look on as another teacher at the school ("a nice old man") was dismissed as a simpleton in a pamphlet distributed to pupils outside the school.

Has the battle between high school teachers and pupils really reached such an explosive stage where the only way out is public insult?

There has long been unrest and disquiet at a number of high schools. Since the school strike in Stuttgart, if not before, the public has realised that the old *Gymnasium* is dead.

In the old days any unwillingness to learn was expressed secretly or in pranks aimed to make a teacher the laughing stock of the class.

Today the pupils' revolt, the rejection of a teacher's authority, has reached more threatening proportions. For many, though by no means all teachers the situation has become so distressing that they are looking for a quiet job.

There is a sound of honest regret in the voice of pupils when they state with the mercilessness common among the young that many teachers are unable to appreciate a class's psychological nature.

Another point they make is that students often decide to become teachers as this is the only course open to them. It is therefore no wonder that so many teachers are rubbish, they add.

Insults and attacks like this automatically lead to Stuttgart headmaster

### Oldenburg University

The new University of Oldenburg (Lower Saxony) will open its doors in 1972 with integrated teacher training for all school grades and courses in science and sociology.

The Founding Committee has decided to appoint the first 21 lecturers this year. (Die Welt, 24 July 1971)

### STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

claims, to anger and resignation among teachers as they wonder how long they will have to tolerate a like situation.

A young teacher has tried to analyse the situation. Normally, he states, the teachers affected in this way are those few who do not have the talent of understanding people and being able to speak to them.

An elderly professor with high school experience, who has just retired, sees a different reason for it: "It must not be forgotten that today's youth is conducting a systematic campaign against their elders!"

Conversations with teachers and pupils reveal that one of the main reasons for the growing amount of tension within schools is the decline in a teacher's authority in recent years and the fact that he must now control a class without making use of the disciplinary measures he could once employ.

Self-critical teachers agree with what one of their girl pupils says. "Our teachers often finish their training without any preparation for what they are to face and immediately become disillusioned and frustrated."

But disillusion and frustration cannot be generalised, and neither can the behaviour of teachers and pupils. There are a number of teachers who agree that pupils today are more mature than past generations and there are pupils, especially older pupils, who are quite happy with their teachers.

There is no united front of pupils against teachers nor can there be talk of a whole profession failing in its duties.

The class struggle in schools is conducted using a wide number of methods, all depending on the age and social background of pupils.

Methods range from apathetic passivity to deliberate obstruction and are used by whole classes or only minorities to wear down a teacher or the whole staff.

One teacher states that what many of his colleagues feel is a declaration of war is basically no more than an unsuccessful attempt to argue logically and objectively. This can lead to an explosion in

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everyday teaching if, as a pupil put it, the teacher does not have the necessary mental equipment or if, as a teacher put it, the allegedly political argumentation is revealed as unadulterated twaddle.

But the spread of politics in high schools after this student unrest of 1968 is not the main reason for the discomfort of many of the teachers. Both committed pupils and teachers regret that most of a class will sit silently through a political discussion.

Both sides confirm that the end of the ideologically inspired wave of protest against the school system has been followed by an apathy that pupils describe as a sign of resignation.

Teachers claim that the apathy is due to the entry restrictions imposed on subjects in some universities. Because he is forced to achieve good examination results, the sixth-former normally has no time to deal with reform and social change.

Teachers are faced with a bigger headache in the form of the unrest shown by the middle age range at schools and the increasing apathy shown where learning is concerned.

In the middle stages of high school life the need to achieve results is not so high as few pupils are now required to repeat a year. Teachers find a depressing apathy among this age range and a trend to aggression — usually inspired by a tiny minority — that can make a teacher's life hell.

"It seems," one high school teacher argues, "as if the public look upon education and learning today as a sort of spare-time pursuit." People no longer seem to look on learning as a painstaking occupation that, the pupil himself has to do. No teacher can do it for him.

The resulting couldn't-care-less attitude is worse, in many teachers' eyes, than the rebellion they might otherwise find, as it is harder to cure or correct.

Another teacher believes that the unrest of the middle years is socially motivated. "There has been a polarisation in staffroom too," he reports. "Progressive and conservative groups of teachers form and we should not therefore be surprised when pupils, who are always told by teachers that democracy has not been fully introduced into schools, suddenly rise up against school rules."

There are other aspects to the conflict between teachers and pupils. One high school teacher claims that the problems at our schools are caused by the fact that a far larger number of pupils now attend high school as people look upon the school-leaving certificate as a necessary qualification. This does not only lead to larger classes. Pupils who are not equal to the demands placed upon them are also run through the mill.

Pupils who obtain poor results try to hide their inferiority complex by setting themselves up as class heroes in the fight against the teacher.

High school pupils who sit on school councils and together with teachers and parents have to judge cases of bad behaviour and serious violations of the school rules recognise that "discipline has gone downhill". They are not surprised. "Many of the offenders come from the gutter."

One woman teacher's argument was less extremely expressed but basically the same. "We can say today that many of our pupils will fail because of their family's social position." Another teacher recognised that the effects of environ-

mental disturbances were always schools in the form of conflict.

Self-confident pupils who are versed in ideology now recommend drastic solution to the problem. It should be allowed a maximum of dom — approximately to the same extent as students at university — and be free to think and act independently. The present school system is unable to do this.

Pupils and progressive teachers at Wittenberg agreed to a scheme of this type released senior pupils from the obligation to attend classes.

This led unfortunately to the number of absences doubling with the result that the scheme had to be abandoned, as others had discovered and reported their own discoveries. Hans Schaefer, the congress vice-president and one of those physiologists who were once able to survey the whole field of their science, defined physiology as a general study of men in his book *Medizin heute* that appeared in 1963. Physiology, he said, must become the conscience of hospital medicine. All aspects of human physiology were discussed in 1,336 talks, sixty lectures and twenty symposia. In one report this congress differed from its predecessors. The only language used was English. Simultaneous translation into other languages would have cost half a million Marks.

Peter Sartoris  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 July 1971)

Only when pupils are no longer muddled on their way to the school-leaving examination will there evolve a system in which the pupil will move more freely and into a better person which will remove the cause of conflict between teachers and pupils.

Werner choosing a subtitle for his book on the history of physiology, Karel Rohrbach came across a Schopenhauer quotation that physiology was the summit of all natural science and its most obscure area.

For long periods in the history of physiology it was German scientists who helped to throw some light on this obscure area.

Unlike Aristotle who thought that arteries were filled with air, Galenos recognised that they contained blood.

Galenos stated that the blood in the arteries was permeated with *spiritus vitalis* when it passed through the lungs.

This was a long time before anyone suspected the existence of oxygen.

Galeno's ideas about circulation were far removed from actual fact. He claimed that food was converted into blood on entering the liver. From there it was pumped by the heart to all the body organs without ever returning.

The organisers decided against their mother tongue in the interests of international understanding.

The only German to crop up at the congress was that contained in a thin volume entitled *Founders of Experimental Physiology* that was presented to all the visiting scientists by this country's Physiology Association.

Eleven of the most important historical texts from the field of experimental physiology are contained in facsimile in the book.

These are works by Descartes, Borelli, Harvey, Galvini, Mayer, Helmholz, Ludwig, Fick, Bernard, Frank and Bernstein written between 1628 and 1902. This list contains two Frenchmen, two Italians, one Englishman and six Germans.

Johannes Müller, whose nineteenth century Berlin school has influenced almost every physiologist in the world, is not represented in the book. But special mention should still be paid today to what is once said about the limits of investigating the subject more closely.

Human behaviour and the conduct of animals such as the ape that have a brain with frontal lobes situated just inside the environment. Their sense of purpose is however affected. When prompted to activity and concentration under experimental conditions they were unable to continue anything to the very end.

At a symposium dealing with the effect of frontal lobes on behaviour held during the International Physiologists Congress in Munich, researchers from the United States, Russia and Poland told scientists that the movements intended by the part of the brain.

Speaking to a meeting in Bonn when he was 23, he stated, "Observation is straightforward, assiduous, diligent and unremitting. Experiment is artificial, impudent, hurried, desultory, passionate and unreliable.

They will also help to ease the dilemma of young people when choosing a profession and show people already at work what future prospects they have and what demands will be placed upon them.

Professor René König of Cologne University has been appointed director of the new Institute, Bert Hartwig of the Tübingen Union Confederation executive and Professor Fritz Sack of Regensburg University will be on the Institute's board of governors along with Professor König.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 24 July 1971)

### MEDICINE

## Physiological developments form the basis of modern medicine

For the first time since 1907 the International Congress of Physiological Sciences was held on German soil. Munich acted host to more than 3,200 scientists from 40 countries. In his opening address Kurt Evers, Mayor of Munich, the congress president, stated that they had met to discover what others had discovered and to report their own discoveries. Hans Schaefer, the congress vice-president and one of those physiologists who were once able to survey the whole field of their science,

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## ■ COMMON MARKET

### West German economic organisations welcome Britain's entry into EEC

**Handelsblatt**  
DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG  
INDUSTRIELEITER

Conversations with leading officials in the pertinent Bonn ministries and with representatives of the major employers' associations about the consequences of British entry to the European Economic Community lead us to believe that the major changes forecast are: considerable gains for the West German economy, a few difficulties in individual sectors of industry that should prove temporary although not quantifiable, new impulses for trade even with countries outside the Community and greater efficiency in industry as a result of increased competition.

Taking together all the African Commonwealth States that will be associate members after Britain joins, as well as the other three new members, Denmark, Eire and Norway, a market will be built up stretching from Zambia to the northern polar regions.

Simultaneously the Bonn government and the employers' associations are hoping that integration into a large community will provide extra encouragement for the liberalisation of world trade as a whole.

The head of the department of European Affairs at the Ministry for Economic Affairs and Finance, Dr Ulrich Everling, is firmly convinced that in the enlarged market with its increased competitiveness West German industry will have good opportunities amongst the highly developed industries and will evolve even better growth potential.

In addition to this the preference areas will be considerably extended by the entry of the four new countries, through specific agreements with the remainder of Efta and finally through the African Commonwealth countries.

As a result of this the effects of the process of integration will in fact be more noticeable for those that stay outside this market than for those countries that are immediately affected by integration.

Dr Everling, therefore, considers talks with the United States essential. In order to lessen the effect of the frontiers of the preference area he is pleading for negotiations within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

As far as development within the Community is concerned he considers that the main problem for the ten countries will be organisational structuring to deal with the old and newly arising problems. This means that the Community must improve its negotiating machinery and remain operational even when the extended organisations come into being. The main emphasis, in his opinion, must be on the Council of Ministers.

As far as the political aims of the Federal Republic are concerned the head of the foreign trade department at the Ministry for Economic Affairs and Finance, Dr Wilhelm Hanemann, stresses that the Six has never been the be-all and end-all in European cooperation. Even the Treaty of Rome foresaw the entry of other countries.

Dr Hanemann considers it decisive how far the Community will change after it becomes the Ten. He is working on the assumption that the personality of the Community will remain whole especially as the applicant countries are not altering the legal substance of the EEC and will

therefore not be changing it fundamentally.

Nevertheless Dr Hanemann is sure that the extension of the Community will shift in accent of cooperation. The importance of the new Community in world economic affairs will be greater. This means that its responsibility in world economic affairs will also increase. An extended community will be more highly geared towards more interesting cooperation with outside countries, especially the United States, the developing countries and the communist East.

This community, Dr Hanemann added, must pursue a policy of openness to world trade and not become introverted. In this respect he expects Great Britain to make a positive contribution since it is structurally and historically a country with liberal trading principles.

Trade within the Six in the past ten years has increased tenfold as compared with trade with outside countries. This proportion will remain in the enlarged community. Dr Hanemann predicts that in the foreseeable future the Federal Republic will be concluding fifty per cent of its trade in the EEC area, free of customs tariffs and other limitations.

Efforts to achieve greater efficiency forced by the harder competition will also prove advantageous for the consumer. With the market automatically gaining from this expansion Dr Hanemann hopes that export trade with other countries in the world will not be crippled.

At the Federal Association of West German Wholesale and Foreign Traders fears have been expressed that trade with countries outside the EEC, which of special significance for West German importers and exporters, will suffer.

With regard to the Efta countries that are not joining the EEC the Association points to the attitude of the Bonn government which has come out in favour of a free trade zone with harmonisation of conditions of competitiveness and breaking down of quantitative limitations via a protective clause. Bonn is against temporary measures and wants a long-term solution.

#### Avoid dividing Europe

According to the Association everything should be done to avoid dividing Europe into three islands: the EEC, the vestiges of Efta and the rest. Almost certainly it will only be possible to forge a very loose link with Finland and Portugal will probably come under a limited preference regulation analogous with the situation of Spain.

Discrimination between associates and non-associates will be unavoidable. According to the Association special consideration should be given to the relationship with important industrial nations such as the United States, Canada, Japan, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

Insufficient discussions have so far been held on how the business of discrimination can be avoided or at least watered down. One suggestion has been a kind of renewed Kennedy Round so that these countries would not be cut off from markets in the Community.

The question of the future of trade with the East Bloc has also been asked. Britain has announced its preparedness to accept all treaties but it is considered possible that these would have to be newly drawn up involving complicated legal procedures. And finally a revision of

the EEC's agricultural policy which discriminates against all outside countries is on the table.

For the Confederation of West German Industries, BDI, whose retiring president, Fritz Berg, never missed an opportunity to speak out in favour of bringing Britain into the Community, it has always been a major factor in striving towards extension of the Community that the EEC and Efta should be brought together.

The BDI has not underestimated worries that extension of the Community could lead to a weakening of its structure. It has always been considered an anachronism that in the free part of Europe two separate groups should be formed. Britain's entry is the key to solving this problem.

According to the ideas put forward and approved at the Hague conference the entry of the Four will automatically bring into being a re-structuring of the relationship of the Ten to the rest of Europe.

In connection with this we are reminded of how far the West German economy is interwoven with that of Switzerland and Austria. Austria's dependence on the extended EEC for exports is enormous, whereas Austrian goods are a minor factor in EEC calculations. The importance of economic ties to neutral countries for all and particularly the West German economy makes regulations at a Community level essential if this traditional flow of trade is not to be broken off.

Even in the BDI, no one has dared to make statistical predictions of what this new era of economic relationships will bring. At any rate it is hoped that there will be a similar growth rate to that achieved by the Six in the past twelve years.

A relationship of healthy rivalry between the United States and Europe is only possible if far reaching freedom is granted, but also specialisation must be striven for.

With regard to world trade it has been pointed out that customs preferences lose in significance the larger the area of customs freedom in Europe. It is to be regretted that the more economically strong developing countries will lose ground on the European market.

Dr Herbst too foresees no basic difficulties for the German economy over more than a short term. He has emphasised that Britain will bring to the European Common Market experience in manufacturing certain products such as aeroplanes and computers.

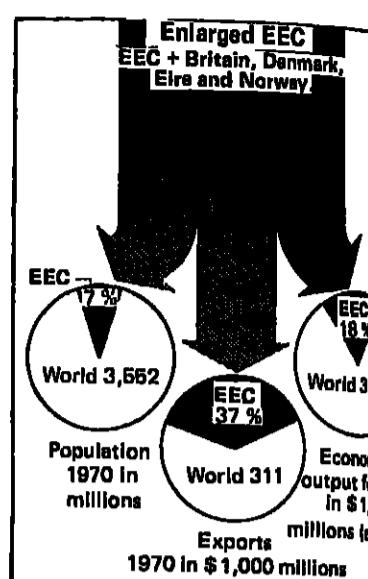
He is also of the opinion that it is essential to reconcile outside countries with the idea of this process of extension. This applies equally to the Western world and the East.

Even though Britain will have great affinity to France on the question of renunciation of sovereign rights that the Federal Republic nevertheless, Dr Herbst says, the institutionalisation of the Community and the content of the treaties must remain undiminished.

A prerequisite for this is the majority of the European Commission as an independent panel. In mastering the problems that arise in extending the Community the institutional weaponry of treaties should be exploited to the full.

The fact that France has now given the green light towards extension of the Community has been determined more than anything else by the political setup, according to the thesis of the central organisation of West German chambers of trade and commerce (DIHT).

From a purely economic point of view the mere expectation of British entry has already influenced the process of integration in Europe. Certain items are being



pushed through with greater alacrity Brussels while others are being held because they appear simpler to deal with when Britain is in.

The DIHT believes, however, that in face of the Community will be changed when this country, with its great intentions is admitted. There are likely to be certain difficulties, particularly of a global kind, for the British economy.

An enlarged EEC will be a powerful ally in the fight against protectionist tendencies, especially of the United States. The larger economies, stretching from the Equator to the polar regions will be far more critical of the past. On the other hand the USA will see many negative aspects, negative for America, in the extent to which economic integration in Europe leads to the aim of a political union which Washington's approval.

One specific difference that the Federal Republic will notice is a more extensive exchange of goods with Great Britain. For Dr Axel Herbst, head of the department for trade policies in the Foreign Office, there already appears to be for the Ten a number of common interests, which have political funds to believe that the dynamic process to be undertaken when integrating the Six into a community of Ten will not cease. This task has been finished, but will continue to the advantage of all, especially the British economy, Britain needs and will get shot in the arm, especially with the scope of this large guaranteed market, something the Commonwealth can no longer offer.

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pushed through with greater alacrity Brussels while others are being held because they appear simpler to deal with when Britain is in.

The Federal Republic will certainly accept all the improvements suggested by Great Britain. What this country will accept is a retrograde step with regard to integration.

Georg Gussmann (Handelsblatt, 30 July 1971)

**POLLUTION**

# New products must be assessed for their environmental acceptability

**PUBLIK**

**M**an and the flora and fauna of his environment form a living unit and any inroad into biological links must necessarily lead to an adverse effect on Man himself.

So far society has been dominated by the idea of a standard of living measurable in terms of hard cash being the yardstick of human prosperity. The result has been an ever-increasing level of production.

In the end, though, there was no getting away from the fact that the ramifications of technological progress — noise, exhaust, effluent and garbage — considerably counteract human well-being.

For some time, indeed, there have been indications that the basis of life is seriously threatened by uncontrolled and unthinking exploitation of natural aids such as water, soil and the air we breathe.

To an increasing extent there has been an international realisation that environmental protection measures must be intensified and that they are essential if life on Earth is to be maintained.

The causes of this development are fairly well-known. They are, for the most part, the population increase and the accompanying growth in demand for consumer goods, the change in living habits and the application of new technological processes.

The manifold problems of environmental protection can no longer be satisfactorily solved by individual countries going it alone. Environmental danger is no respecter of frontiers, particularly as far as air and water pollution are concerned.

What is more, international cooperation can more swiftly lead to urgently needed solutions of the problems in hand. International bodies such as the World Health Organisation, the Council of Europe, the European Economic Community, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development and Nato have for some time been concerned.

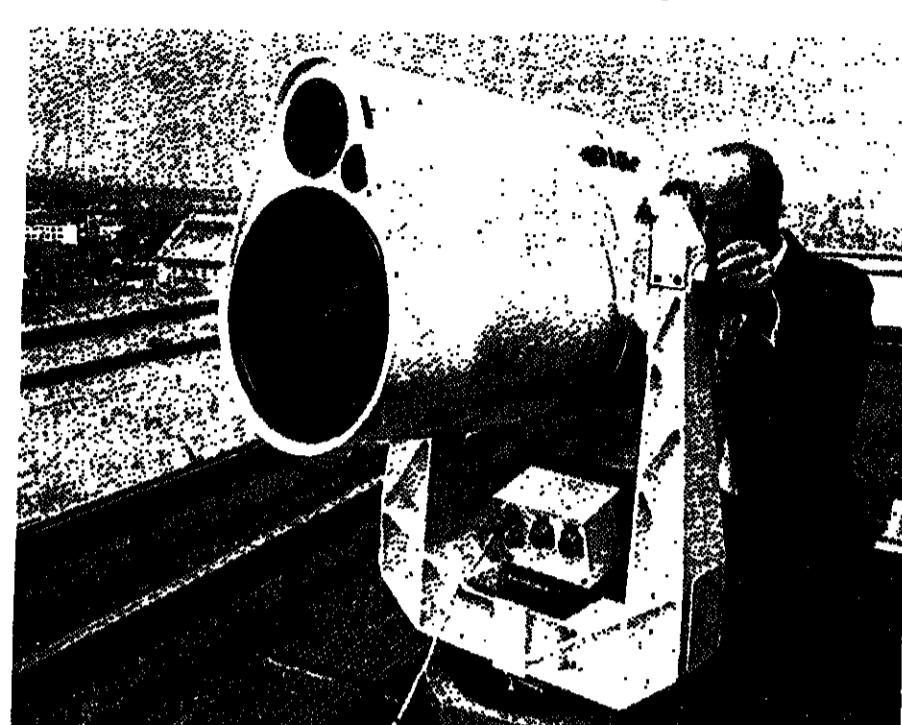
If measures designed to improve environmental protection are effectively to be applied the links between cause and effect must first be clarified in the scientific and technical sectors and criteria for satisfactory environmental conditions determined.

At the same time the present environmental situation must be reviewed and the level of technology continually improved.

With the aid of this information the legislature and the administration could then take over a meaningful and successful control function, the implementation of environmental protection regulations being of particular importance.

Industry, traffic and domestic heating are the most important causes of atmospheric pollution. According to an estimate made by the US Health Department these three were responsible for releasing 230 million tons or so of dust and exhaust fumes into the American atmosphere in 1968.

In this country the total amount of dust and exhaust emitted in 1969 was somewhere in the region of twenty million tons. Carbon monoxide, sulphur dioxide, dust, nitrous oxides and hydrocarbons are the principal offenders. In view of their efficacy fluorine and lead compounds and unpleasant smells also deserve mention.



Lidar apparatus, mounted on the roof of a skyscraper in Duisburg, measuring the pollution poured into the air by industry in the area

In many conurbations in industrial countries atmospheric measurements have for many years been taken the concentrations of dust and sulphurous compounds being accepted as the main criteria.

Measurements of this kind are regularly taken in, for instance, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Tokyo, London and Rotterdam, not to mention conurbations in this country such as Munich, Frankfurt and Saarbrücken.

One of the most extensive studies was made in 1963 and 1964 in industrial areas of the Rhine and the Ruhr at the behest of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Over an area of roughly 6,000 square kilometres systematic air samples are taken at more than 4,000 control points for analysis. As a result sulphur dioxide and dust pollution have declined by up to half since tests were inaugurated.

This improvement is due to no small extent to anti-pollution measures incorporated in more than thirty laws and administrative regulations and campaigns carried out in the conurbations concerned.

In certain weather conditions considerable concentrations of noxious fumes and substances can occur at near ground-level.

In the past the result has often been smog catastrophes. One of the most notorious instances of smog was the London smog of December 1952 which was responsible for more than 4,000 fatalities.

In exceptional situations such as this conventional techniques are inadequate. Smog early warning systems have accordingly been set up in a number of built-up

## Motorway waste

The average motorist who jettisons an empty cigarette packet or bag of sweets has no idea of the amount of rubbish that accumulates on roads, laybys and parking lots outside built-up areas.

In an average month the total is 50,000 tons, or 8,500 lorries full that have to be carted off by the 780 public works departments.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 July 1971)

areas such as Los Angeles, Tokyo, Rotterdam and the Ruhr.

When certain concentrations are exceeded the smog alarm is sounded and limits on the emission of smoke and exhaust fumes are imposed. Since then there have been no more reports of major smog catastrophes.

Scientific and technical research play an important part in combating atmospheric pollution. Clean exhaust systems must be developed in conjunction with industry.

The extent and chemical and physical conversion of pollution in the atmosphere must be investigated. So must the effect of certain kinds of pollution on Man, flora and fauna. Lawmakers can then specify mandatory limits.

Since minute concentrations in the air we breathe can affect the organism complicated devices are needed to provide the required information.

Research scientists all over the world and in all scientific disciplines are engaged in work on problems of this kind and a lively exchange of information makes it appear likely that certain targets will soon be reached.

At the State Institute of Emission and Soil Protection in Essen North Rhine-Westphalia has one of the largest facilities in the world dealing exclusively with this and related issues.

Complaints about noise have rapidly increased in recent years. Opinion pollsters have discovered that roughly one person in two in this country feels he or she is at the receiving end of too much noise. Road traffic is the principal offender, closely followed by aircraft noise.

Commercial enterprises and neighbourhood noise such as that coming from pubs and restaurants also give rise to complaints.

Scientific and technical research is paying close attention to both the effect of noise on people and the development of measures designed to counteract it. Noise problems can often be solved most effectively when suitable protective measures are taken at the planning stage of, say, roads and highways.

Subsequent measures such as the construction of embankments and the planting of greenery are generally less effective.

Sewage can be satisfactorily purified by means of mechanical and biological puri-

**MOTORING**

# Roadbuilding projects are having to be temporarily suspended

**WELT SONNTAG**

The motorist's opinion of his vehicle has undergone a remarkable change of late. The car used to be his pride and joy. It is now little more than a constant source of trouble and annoyance.

Traffic specialists, road-builders and financiers have a professional interest in the steadily increasing number of motor vehicles on the road, the alarming traffic density figures and the traffic chaos at daily peak periods.

They all agree that there is less room to move on the roads and total chaos is no longer far distant. The man in the street, as he used to be called, is quite prepared to believe forecasts of this kind.

What, though, is the real situation? In 1970 there were:

- 13.7 million private cars in this country
- 1.9 million cars newly registered
- some 162,500 kilometres (100,000 miles) of roads for them to use, including approximately 4,500 kilometres (3,000 miles) of autobahn
- one private car for every five inhabitants or every two holders of valid driving-licences.

Roughly 45 per cent of all German motorists drive to and from work every day (as opposed to 81 per cent in the United States).

Over the last five years Federal government roadbuilding expenditure has increased by forty per cent from 3,000 million Marks in 1967 to 4,200 million this year.

Herr Leber has, for instance, published a

gigantic programme to build an additional 28,000 kilometres (17,500 miles) of road, including 15,000 kilometres or nearly 10,000 miles of autobahn over the next fifteen years.

According to the estimates made the roadbuilding programme will cost some 147,000 million Marks at present prices.

As only 70,000 million Marks or so of mineral oil revenue are tied to roadbuilding over the period in question there is a financial gap of 77,000 million Marks to bridge.

And since further price increases can be expected the likely shortfall in available funds will be somewhere in the region of 130,300 million Marks.

Were the extra revenue needed to be raised by increasing the tax on petrol and diesel oil the tax would have to be boosted to seventy pfennigs a litre, which would mean a petrol pump price of a Mark a litre.

There are two alternatives:

- More of the present mineral oil tax revenue could be tied to roadbuilding. At present only half the annual revenue of 10,500 million Marks is tied to roadworks.

- The money could be raised on the capital market. Savers would benefit directly from subscribing to government loans for roadbuilding purpose.

For the time being, however, the Ministry of Transport has been ordered to clamp down on expenditure. As a result roadworks will grind to a halt in many

parts of the country late this summer. The construction industry expects there to be a twenty-per-cent drop in the amount of work available.

The industry is dependent on public spending for sixty per cent and more of its work. "In August," says Christian Wiegand, manager of the Hamburg region of the construction industry association, "firms will face an absolute void."

Peter Kemna, spokesman for the roadbuilding association, sounds a similar note: "The 1967 recession was a minor upset in comparison with present prospects."

Peter-Monika Jauner

(Welt am Sonntag, 25 July 1971)

## Restricted speed limits

The draft Ministry of Transport regulation imposing a speed limit of 100 kilometres an hour (62 mph) on all roads except autobahns is based, according to a Ministry spokesman, both on experience in other countries and on the initial results of research carried out here.

The final conclusions of this work are to be published this autumn. It consists not only of an analysis of accident statistics but also of observations and questionnaires.

Foreign experience that has been taken into account including trials in France, where 12,000 kilometres of routes nationales have been subject to a similar speed limit, and Sweden.

The Ministry also notes that the Bundesverband transport sub-committee has already advocated consideration of an upper speed limit on roads with two-way traffic.

This proposal, however, was for a speed limit of 120 kilometres an hour (roughly 75 mph) on roads with fewer than four lanes.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 July 1971)

**Frankfurter Allgemeine**  
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

## One of the world's top ten

Bavaria will be the first state in the Federal Republic to employ conscientious objectors in the environmental protection sector on a trial basis, starting on 1 September.

Hubert Weinzierl, chairman of the Bavarian branch of the Nature Conservancy Association, announced the government's intention recently in Nuremberg.

The Federal Ministry of Defence has already given the pilot project the go-ahead in principle.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 July 1971)

"Zeitung für Deutschland" ("Newspaper for Germany") is a designation that reflects both the Frankfurter Allgemeine's underlying purpose and, more literally, its circulation — which covers West Berlin and the whole of the Federal Republic. In addition to 140 editors and correspondents of its own, the paper has 450 "stringers" reporting from all over Germany and around the world. 300,000 copies are printed daily, of which 220,000 go to subscribers. 20,000 are distributed

abroad, and the balance is sold on newsstands. Every issue is read by at least four or five persons. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung is the paper of the businessman and the politician, and indeed of everyone who matters in the Federal Republic.

For anyone wishing to penetrate the German market, the Frankfurter Allgemeine is a must. In a country of many famous newspapers its authority, scope, and influence can be matched only at an international level.

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